

Cultural Commodification Strategies in Cusco, Peru

An Honors Thesis (HONR 499)

By

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Abstract

Within the past two decades cultural tourism has become one of the main sources of economic growth for the country of Peru, and especially the city of Cusco. In order to market to tourists who want to learn about cultural differences, indigenous people and the country itself have formed an "authentic" identity that they can sell to travelers. These manufactured authentic representations of the Inca Culture in Cusco are regularly repeated to enforce the indigenous identity of Cusco. I discuss and analyze aspects of cultural tourism like souvenirs, archaeological sites, advertisements and clothing that I observed during my two month stay in Cusco to formulate an explanation on how the state institution and individual actors commodify their own culture to make it an effective economic strategy.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank Dr. Jennifer Erickson for advising me through this ethnography. She has never ceased to give me academic help within the field of anthropology which will help me greatly in my professional life.

I would also like to thank my host mom, Josefina, who made my stay in Cusco full of cultural learning and provided me with the best food in the country.

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Process Analysis

I have a passion for understanding human cultures and identities. What shapes them?

How do communities interact with each other? For this reason, I utilized my desire as well as my background in anthropology to learn about human identity by researching cultural tourism in Cusco, Peru this summer. I wanted to see how tourists, like myself, influenced the locals who were selling bits of their culture such as clothing and music to foreigners. In order to do this I took notes of everything I saw while I was in Cusco between May and July of 2017, of which I go into detail in my methods portion of my thesis. These observations let me interpret the data and compare it with previous research done by other scholars on the subject. The biggest challenge during this process was keeping an open mind toward my results. I did not want to assume that tourism affected indigenous individuals negatively, nor did I want to think that it would only be a positive interaction. The skills I gained through my anthropological methods courses at Ball State guided me through this struggle and provided me with the confidence I needed to complete my mission. To me, this thesis process is the beginning of my professional career as a cultural anthropologist. It only makes me more curious about indigenous populations and the national institutions that affect such groups. I will continue to improve my research abilities and use my curiosity and compassion to problem solve some of the complicated issues that underprivileged peoples in Latin America face daily.

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Introduction

After completing the trek up to and back from Cristo Blanco, a giant statue of Christ that stands up on a mountain ledge overlooking the entire city of Cusco with open arms, my legs were left shaking. Before I could go back to my homestay on the other side of town to rest, however, I had one thing left to do: find the shop near the Plaza de Armas that all of the other volunteers from the USA rated so highly. As I walked through the stone streets that weaved around the plaza, I passed many storefronts with colorful clothing and knick-knacks displayed for passersby. I soon learned that if I stalled to look a woman's voice from inside would yell "Mami! Come in!" or "Linda, dejame mostrarte mi ropa!" and I would promptly feel obligated to look around the store politely until I could make an excuse to leave. I victoriously made my way to large stone steps, leading to an alley where I saw a series of three storefronts all connected to each other with a sign that read "Asuntas". I had made it to my destination.

Before I stepped foot inside the tienda a woman of about 30 years stepped in front of me and warmly greeted me with a hug and said "hola, princesa! How are you today?". She promptly led me inside one of the rooms in her shops and explained that her family was the supplier of the main souvenir products in the area so her store would be much cheaper than any other one I could find, even though it was of the same quality or better. "Princessa, come here!" she exclaimed and took me to a stand of sweaters that I had seen my volunteer friends and gringos in the street wearing. "I will give you a discount because you are a volunteer, linda! But, you have to tell your friends about my store. You can do that for me, right?". Then she handed me a bright green plastic bag and told me to fill it up with everything I wanted and to bring it back to her when I was ready to pay. I made my way to the bright, comfy-looking

colored pants I saw a coworker wear one day and bought myself a pair. After checking me out, she said "Follow me princessa! Thank you so much. Here, take this" She hooked a flute pin onto my shirt and then led me to the next room over. "Here, wear this. You will look like a real Peruvian." She then spent the next several minutes decking me out in a pink striped poncho, a colorfully beaded hat and a flowery scarf. She then gave me a giant staff to hold up above my head. "How beautiful, princessa! Let me take a picture of you." She used my phone to snap an image of me dressed in every bright color imaginable and holding up an object I didn't quite know the purpose of over my head. She gave me a firm hug and reminded me to come back and bring others with me next time. I took the winding stone roads home, all the while hearing "Come in!", "Good prices here", and "Chica!" from the multitude of shop entrances I passed by.



The photo taken by the Asuntas employee

History

According to inca legend, the incan history began with the emergence of Manco Capac and Occlo Huaco, children of the Sun God Inti, 13 miles east of Lake Titicaca (Foerster 2011). They are known for teaching their people skills in agriculture, weaving and spinning. Capac and Huaco went on to travel to Cusco, where the Incas took root. Personified in the prominent figures of Manco Capac and Occlo Huaco is the idea that the Inca culture developed early on in the southeastern portion of what is now known as Peru. The arrival of the Inca in Cusco is recorded to be around 1100 AD (Foerster 2011, 5). At this time, the three main tribes living in the valley area were the Sawasiray, Allkawisas and Maras. They formed a confederated state with the Incas, and within this state were the Hanan and Hurin. The former had political and religious power and the latter controlled the military. The Incas were first put in charge of the Hurin dynasty with their leader Manco Capac in 1200, but they still worshiped the Sun God Inti. The leader of the dynasty was known as the Sapa Inca (Foerster 2011).

Generations of Sapa Incas took power until they controlled both the Hanan and Hurin Dynasties. Pachacutec rule from 1438-1471 presented the Inca confederation with a massive expansion where they took control of the majority of the Andes region. The Inca territory experienced further growth until it became the "largest confederation or empire in pre-columbian America" (Foerster 2011, 14) in which they controlled Peru, Bolivia, the majority of Ecuador and northern Chile. The territory's name is Tahuantinsuyu. The far corners of the confederation reached Colombia and Argentina. One of the most notable achievements during

Inca rule is their extensive road development which totaled between 15,000 to 25,000 miles (Foerster 2011).

Civil war erupted in the Inca confederation between 1527 and 1532 between two brothers: Atahualpa who controlled the Quito sector and Huascar who controlled the rest of Tahuantinsuyu. It was at the end of this period that the Spanish arrived in Peru and sought dominance. Huascar was executed after his capture by his brother's forces, and Atahualpa became the supreme Sapa Inca until he was killed by the Spanish a few months later in 1533. After his death, the confederation crumbled. The Spanish made an effort to keep some of the structure together by establishing another Sapa Inca, Manco Inca Yupangui, who they controlled. However, the Spanish leader Pizarro and his associate Diego de Amagro started an internal feud after the latter claimed ownership of Cusco. Yupanqui used this opportunity to take Cusco back for the Inca in 1536, but the Spanish regained control not long after. The Inca civilization officially ended after the Spanish took the last remaining Inca stronghold (Foerster 2011).

The city of Cusco was ruled by Spanish figureheads and the national religion was transformed to Catholicism (Foerster 2011). The Spanish system of land ownership divided the society of colonial Peru. The landowning class that constituted 10% of the population had control over politics, military, education and religion while the other 90% of the population who were mainly indigenous "remained landless, illiterate, and exploited" (virtualperu 2015). A governmental system was developed in 1569 that lasted for around two centuries and consisted of Spanish officials in charge of lower indigenous officials who worked directly with the native populations in Peru. Indigenous communities in Peru revolted against the Spanish in

1780. Peru finally gained independence from Spain in 1821 and the following year a centralized democratic government was formed, consisting of a president and a single-chambered legislature. However, Peruvian sovereignty wasn't officially recognized by Spain until a treaty was signed in 1879 (virtualperu 2015). In the 21st century the occupants of high positions in the government, religious, financial and military spheres are mostly of Spanish descent (Foerster 2011).

In the twentieth century, indigenous movements in the Andean region were brought to the national level of politics to fight for human rights because much of the rural population suffered from social and economic restrictions (Baud 2007). The export centered economy and the cessation of a regional autonomous leader brought the indigenous struggle from a regional issue to a national issue and thus sparked indigenous mobilization. Some urban indigenous individuals held state positions at this time and were able to give national and global attention to the indigenous struggle. Even though indigenismo was an important political force in Peru, indigenous movements were "less institutionalized and less successful" than those of neighboring countries (Baud 2007, 31). This happened because Inca symbolism and culture were used on the national level for tourism campaigns but hindered the indigenous fight for cultural rights. The nation and indigenous population's use of the inca culture for profit gave little reason for the government to change the way the culture was represented and treated. As a result, the indigenous struggle in Peru was not well recognized. Also, even though there were certainly indigenous protests in Cusco and Puno, the politicians in the nation's capital, Lima, did not do anything about it. Therefore, the indigenous mobilization did not affect the country in the government's national sphere. The state did finally intervene due to the military regime for

the indigenous population in 1968 and political and social reforms came as a result. However, this revolutionary process came “from above” instead of from the local indigenous point of view (Baud 2007).

By the 1980s, in addition to the small industrial sector, the main industries in Peru were mining, agriculture, and fisheries. Halfway through the decade, Peru had an 8.2% unemployment rate, a large inflation rate of 114%, and a GDP of \$3,370 per capita. The main institutional goals at this time were to sustain their democratic government and avoid any political revolutions. However, there was an effort to manage Peru’s infrastructure in the late 80s and early 90s that led to the potential for economic development. By 2007, the GDP doubled per capita and the inflation rate went down to 1.14%. One of the major changes in economic development was the addition of tourism to the main industries of Peru, even though it wasn’t considered as an agent for economic stability or growth as recent as the early 1990s. However, tourism soon grew faster economically than other industries in Peru. The World Tourism Organization recognized Peru as having the second largest tourism growth in Latin America in 2005 (Anderson 2008).

Methods

In the summer of 2017, I went to Cusco, Peru to volunteer with an organization named Maximo Nivel in order to work in childcare for a home for young mothers. I knew that I would have available time after my work hours with this organization and wished to use that time to explore the relationship between culture and tourism in Cusco. I had previously studied abroad elsewhere in Latin America in the city of San Jose, Costa Rica, and was aware that certain aspects of the region like local clothing, art and the natural environment were being displayed and sold to tourists. After I got back from Costa Rica, I learned how to conduct ethnographic research in the anthropology department at Ball State University, which equipped me with the ethnographic methods I could utilize for research in Peru. I am qualified to do such a study because I helped complete an ethnographic study in the Riverside-Normal City neighborhood of Muncie, the neighborhood directly east of Ball State's Campus, and was trained in participant observation, archival research, interview methods and how to use theory.

Cusco specifically interested me because I had come across many instances of Inca representation in previous studies. I wanted to expand upon previous studies that were done regarding cultural tourism in Cusco. In "Theorizing Gender, Race and Cultural Tourism in Latin America: A View from Peru and Mexico", Florence Babb discusses the use of "romantic" or "exoticised" imagery used to represent indigenous people (sometimes by indigenous people themselves) to benefit cultural tourism. The article defines cultural tourism as "tourism that favors intercultural encounters and favors and promises an inside experience of cultural difference" (Babb 2012, 37). The author uses ethnographic research in Andean Peru to look at cultural tourism initiatives involving indigenous women. She suggests that cultural tourism puts

more pressure on indigenous females for the fact that they can gain more economic opportunities by utilizing gender linked cultural items such as specific dress and artistic abilities. Michiel Baud and Annelou Ypeij provide detailed information in *Cultural Tourism in "Latin America: The Politics of Space and Imagery"* about the frontstage and backstage performances of *sacamefotos* while working in Písaq, and their lives in their own towns outside of work. They dress in "traditional" looking garb and present themselves to tourists in the city of Cusco by asking the travelers to pay to take a photo with them and their animals. I personally saw them use mostly sheep and alpacas. In order to support their children in school and to make more money, these women come down from their mountain communities for "cultural presentations" in front of tourists. The article provides a history of the tourist industry in this area of Cusco and explains the mix of identifications sought by certain indigenous women in the area. Pierre van den Berghe and Jorge Ochoa compare ethnic tourism to the identification of the Inca past through the idea of the intersection of cultural tourism with Inca pride called "Incanismo" in *"Tourism and nativistic ideology in Cuzco, Peru"*. They also discuss the homogenization and commodification of native culture. Finally, *Tourism as ethnic relations: a case study of Cuzco, Peru* by Pierre van den Berghe provides the definition of "tourism" as well as its historical development. The article defines tourism as presupposing affluence and it is also recreational. Its specific focus on Cuzco gives an explanation for the economic situation that local actors find themselves in. With a foundation of knowledge regarding cultural tourism, its economic influence on locals and how imagery is utilized in terms of commodification, I was better able to research cultural tourism practices in Cusco.

My research in Cusco over the summer consisted primarily of participant observation. I put special focus on businesses, archaeological sites, the major holidays that were celebrated in June, and the items that were being marketed for tourists during my 10 week stay. I gathered my data by taking notes of everything I observed and photos of certain signs and items as reference points. Living with a host family and working with Cusquenos for the entirety of my stay allowed me to look at my data through both emic and etic perspectives.

Through this thesis, I wish to discuss how the tourist industry in Peru has affected the means by which Cusco is presented to travelers by the commodification of archaeological sites and material goods. The material culture, reminiscent of the Inca Empire, is popular among tourists due to the “authentic” representation and regular repetition of specific cultural phenomenon. In order to analyze the methods of how the cultural phenomena are presented to tourists, I will answer the question, “What is cultural tourism and what causes Peruvians to perpetuate it?”. I will therefore consider the development of cultural tourism as a concept and its purpose in Cusco through the definitions given in studies conducted by Florence Babb and Jorge Ochoa. I will further analyze the concept’s economic and social pushes in the Andean Region of Peru discussed by Michiel Baud and Pierre van den Berghe to demonstrate the necessity of the adaptation of cultural tourism among certain demographics of the Peruvian population.

It is then that I will be able to discuss the methods by which members of the Cusco community participate in cultural tourism: through the representation of goods and the regular repetition of cultural phenomena. Evidence for these methods will be supported by data from my participant observation I conducted in Cusco in the summer of 2017.

Existence and Perpetuation of Cultural Tourism

The concept of cultural tourism must first be established before it can be related to the current practices in Cusco. Cultural tourism is defined by Florence Babb as “tourism that favors intercultural encounters and promises an inside experience of cultural difference” (Babb 2012, 37). It can be both global as well as national, as is oftentimes the case with Latin America due to the interest politicians and citizens have with indigenous appreciation and a higher rate of affluence among the middle class. It does not occur in resort areas, but in communities and populations of the host country (Baud 2009). To meet the needs of cultural tourism, indigenous groups as well as the state of Peru use exaggerated images demonstrating differences in culture to draw in tourists (Babb 2012). These images can include types of clothing indigenous people wear in the city of Cusco, knick knacks that are sold at most markets, and advertisements for cultural heritage sites because they function to promote the aspects that separate indigenous Peruvian culture from that of others.

Incanismo is an idea that allows the conception of the Incan past to intersect with contemporary cultural tourism. Pierre van den Berghe and Jorge Ochoa claim that incanismo is a regional identity that supports local pride. Such a construct provides an explanation of cultural identity that draws in travelers and thereby allows identity to be commodified for tourism purposes. The educated urban population of Cusco benefits from the intersection between incanismo and tourism because it made the inca culture become a marketable commodity (Van den Berghe and Ochoa 2000). Peruvians themselves are drawn into regional tourism with the idea of “incanismo” because the sense of an indigenous past promotes their own culture and sense of identity within their nation (Baud 2009).

There are economic and social pressures that push some members of Cusco to “sell aspects of” their culture and indigenous past to tourists more than others. Since “international travel and cultural discovery have become part of global consumption patterns”, there is room for economic gain from the perspective of local community members. (Baud 2009). Cusco is below the national average of per capita income due to its marginal conditions for livestock and lack of large manufacturing industries. Incanismo and tourism work together, however, to provide Cusco with a leading source of income and development in spite of other economic disparities. However, locals are affected by an increased cost of living due to inflation from the tourist economy. The urban middle and lower-middle classes of Cusco, such as those who own hotels, artisans and even street vendors, though to a lesser extent, benefit the most economically from tourism (Van den Berghe and Ochoa 2000).

Indigenous people are also greatly affected by the economic consequences of the cultural tourism industry since political and economic conflicts arise at the local level. This can take form in product competition among vendors or a disrespect between indigenous families that practice traditional forms of economic subsistence such as farming and those who have converted at least part time to the cultural tourism trade. This is sometimes seen as “selling out” on one’s own culture and can lead to social conflict. Therefore, revenues from cultural tourism lead to further economic tension among community members (Baud 2009). These factors are especially prominent in the case of women known as “Sacamefotos” who come from the town of Písaq in the mountains surrounding the city of Cusco, as defined above. The “authentic” performance of the woman satisfies the tourists desire for an ethnic experience and can earn the sacamefoto up to 10 soles or more per photo. Many women use this as a

secondary income since their traditional incomes generated from agriculture become harder to sustain their families. Some were pushed into the line of work because of problems with land shortage, crop failure and livestock illness. The additional income has the potential to provide improved housing, nutrition and child education on the household level, though does not have a notable economic effect on the community level. This is evident through the lack of cultural tourism income getting filtered into the community infrastructure among indigenous populations in Písaq. There is some opposition within their own communities, for example, because *sacamefotos* are sometimes seen as beggars exploiting their own culture (Baud 2009). Work within the cultural tourism trade creates social consequences for the indigenous individuals, though it may generate economic capital.

Representation of the authentic

The people of Cusco utilize objects and images in museums, businesses and clothing to give the tourist the impression that Cusco is traditional and authentic. How is this “authentic” identity constructed? First, we must realize that the cultural commodification practices that tourism encourages change the target of material goods and performances from locals to tourists. The switch in consumers requires an alteration in products which can be seen as a staged experience (Robinson and Smith 2006). The foreign consumer, however, has no background to judge the experience or product as fake, and thus the image of authenticity is passed along.

One of the most literal instances of marking material culture as “authentic” in Cusco is the institutionalized branding of Peru. FutureBrand developed a logo to make an identity for Peru. Eduardo Ferreyros Kupperts, the Peruvian tourism minister, reportedly said “We’re ready to spread our brand, we’ve given our country an ID” at the launch of the new logo. The logo itself does not contain any Inca symbols, but the spiral letter P in the word Peru is based off of aboriginal symbols used in the famous archaeological sites Moray and Caral (Farley 2011). The exporters’ association of Peru, which provides foreign trade services to businesses, intends to brand all of their products with this logo (Farley 2011). I saw this symbol on many of the souvenirs that are sold at local markets, including the shot glasses pictured below. Not only does the logo seem authentic from an outside perspective because the P provides that ancient America flair we as tourists expect to see, but seeing that Peru itself has approved a certain product makes it appear more credible than other products without a national branding. Using Babb’s theory that imagery is used to exemplify differences across cultures (2012), the Peru

branding is therefore an exoticized image used as a tool on a national level to attract and satisfy tourists.



Shot glasses with the Peru logo I found at a market in Cusco

The use of pottery in imagery was something that I found that marketed the idea of an indigenous identity. The association between different images of pottery pieces on the left hand side of the nuevos soles bills and images of indigenous ruins in the center including Machu Picchu, Templo Nuevo Chavin de Huantar, agranulocytosis Pajaten- San Martin and Caral (in ascending bill order) solidify the idea that indigeneity is integral to the country's identity. The presence of known archaeological sites on the bills along with a traditional artifact give citizens of Cusco and foreigners traveling with local cash the impression that the nation itself has identified with its indigenous past so strongly that ruins with native origins were chosen above other national landmarks, such as post-Columbian constructed plazas and capitol buildings, as better representations of Peru in terms of authenticity.



Image of pottery and Machu Picchu ruins visible on left side of bill

I witnessed the use of pottery yet again when I entered the Museo Quechua that was located on the street leading up to the famous site of Qoricancha, which will be discussed in more detail later. Upon entering the museum, I faced a pile of four large pots/ vases that reminded me of the pottery style I had seen on the soles. The pieces of pottery were painted with geometric patterns, were laid on top of burlap sacks and scattered about as if they had been laid out naturally. The recreation presented me with the idea that they had been put there by natives for one of their daily tasks.



The display of pottery at the Museo Quechua

Further into the museum, an otherwise white wall was labeled "Qosqo" (the original spelling of Cusco): 3000 anos de historia (3000 years of history). And proceeded to give a

timeline of different ruling groups in Andean history such as Maroavalle, Chanapata, and Inca along with an example of pottery from each of the cultures. The imagery of pottery was used yet again in the map of Cusco that my volunteer program provided. The border of the map appeared to be a series of native symbols including pottery, alpacas and a man playing a traditional flute. Therefore, the enforcement of pottery as authentic indigenous culture was present in many different forms. The nation of Peru yet again complies with Babb's suggestion of exoticized imagery demonstrating cross cultural difference (2012). Though all of the individual pieces and representations of pottery I witnessed did not appear to be particularly "exoticized" within themselves, their appearance on bills and in museums make them appear as an exotic historical truth that does not just belong in the past, but presents an "authentic" portrayal of the country's current difference from nations of non-Andean roots.

The use of masks in the museum is another symbol of authentic indigeneity. There were 30 masks hung on a wall tapestry near the museum entrance. The faces had an assortment of skin tones and a couple were of animals instead of humans. All of them had a clownish quality, some with large noses and others with facial hair. Most of the faces were grinning with their teeth shown. It's clear that the setup of traditional masks and pottery is meant for a tourist market because there were products for sale throughout the museum and especially at the end. Among these were scarves, sweaters and alpaca stuffed animals that were much more costly than similar souvenirs one would find at any of the local markets. The authentic nature of the museum would, however, give the visitor more reason to believe the items available for purchase are also more in keeping with local customs and therefore worth the higher cost because the cultural differences apparent in the items for sale was comparable to the

differences witnessed within the display items in the museum. In addition to this, Robinson and Smith's theory that presented products form a staged experience (2009) for the tourist holds true in this situation. Masks, photos, pottery, and clothing items for sale placed strategically throughout the Museo Quechua present the tourist with exactly what the national institution of Peru, and the city of Cusco, wants the traveler to see about the culture of the area. This can be said to be true of cultural museums in general, which use history and artifacts to make the tourist associate the contents with the shaping of the current society. With a staged experience, there is a hopeful guarantee over what the tourist will take away from not just the museum, but the country itself.

There are standard items reminiscent of the Inca culture that were found at nearly all of the markets I visited in Cusco, including venues that had regular vendors and temporary markets that appeared in the month of June because of the Cusqueno holidays. I saw a lot of souvenir magnets that contained images with sites like Machu Picchu along with alpacas, and some with indigenous men with the mountains in the distance. It was also common to find the Peru logo on the magnets. Other magnets have an image of a colorful artifact chief head with a headdress, necklace and earrings along with the Peru logo on the bottom. I found out later that this symbol is known as a *tumi* and is a copy of the royal gold figures that were found in the windows of the sun temple at Machu Picchu. Packaged stone tumis are also sold, and are labeled as such.

Another magnet combines the images of Machu Picchu and the *chakana*, which is also known as the "Inca cross". This symbol is found all over Cusco, and especially in tourist shops on bracelets, keychains, and t-shirts. It is traditionally considered a geometric and holy design

which has several meanings. The condor, puma and snake are represented within the meaning of the chakana. These are symbols for the upper world, the land, and the lower world (Inka Design). Figurines are made of these holy animals as well and are sold in both Cusco, Písaq and Aguas Calientes where Machu Picchu is located.

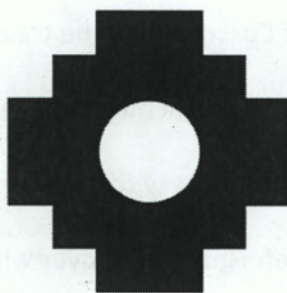


Image of the “Chakana” or “Incan Cross”

Miscellaneous items found regularly at tourist markets are pottery painted in whites and browns with geometric patterns, knick-knacks in the shape of the Incan calendar, rustic looking figurines of males holding vases and wearing headdresses, mugs labeled “Sacsayhuaman” which is an Inca site in the mountains surrounding Cusco, and traditional colorful hats. Some pairs of sunglasses have the Peru logo along with the words Machu Picchu and an outline of the site. All of these items sold at markets support the theory that the use of incanismo and local pride support the tourist economy (Van den Berghe and Ochoa 2000). Incan sites and symbols leave their mark on standard items from magnets to sunglasses, which influences the connection between the nation state and indigenous Inca culture. Combined with the fact that the market for these items is increased during June, the month of Cusco, connects local pride with incanismo in a way that influences the desire for tourists to participate and purchase these items. Thus, local connections between Cusquenos and their culture influence the tourist market.

Certain styles of clothing are used to associate individuals with an authentic Incan identity. This strategy is used in both images and live performances. There is a collage of photos of people of Andean descent that appear to be in traditional Incan clothes on a wall of the Museo Quechua. The photos are modern and the subjects wear large hats, shoulder wraps made out of colorful beaded material and bright jackets. I also noticed that on the so called "tourist train" to Aguas Calientes, the interior walls of the train cars had images of traditionally dressed indigenous women and children. The central plaza of Cusco, Plaza de Armas, has a very elaborate display of authentic clothing on the gold Inca statue, which stands on top of the central fountain. He wears a headdress with three feathers, a circular metal on his chest, and carries a large staff with three feathers on top. This golden statue is a centerpiece for the plaza, and I witnessed many travelers take photos with it. One afternoon, a man stood right by this fountain and also dressed like in Inca chief while he played his flute near some burning incense. He was surrounded by a drum, a conch shell, vessels and CDs for sale. His performance attracted a crowd in the plaza. Live performances like this that appear authentic to satisfy the tourist's need for an ethnic experience, according to Baud (2009). This theory would explain his expectation that he would attract a crowd, evident by the availability of CDs for purchase. Ethnic experience through performance creates a market for people like this man, in addition to musicians, dancers, and sacamefotos which will be discussed later. The whole performance can also be viewed as a staged experience, similar to what I mentioned occurred in the Museo Quechua. It was rehearsed and planned for in order to provoke a reaction from viewers. If the goal was to sell his flute music then the reaction he was looking for was of enjoyment and

respect for his traditional aesthetic and so he staged his performance accordingly. Thus, performances and staged experiences are tailored to the tourist market.

During the celebration of Corpus Christi in June I also witnessed traditional dress in the Plaza de Armas. The whole week before the holiday there are a series of traditional dances performed by many groups in Cusco, both young and old. In one dance I saw the female dancers wore colorful hats, skirts and vests. The men also wore hats, colorful tunics and black pants. All of the dancers wore sandals. The skirts were wide enough to swirl around when the women spun. In another dance the dancers twirled ropes in the air.

Women utilize an image of authenticity through clothing for another sort of performance. Sacamefotos, as noted before, use their indigenous identity as an economic tool. I saw them all over the city of Cusco, up in the mountains near Cristo Blanco where many tourists visit, and especially in side streets surrounding the Plaza de Armas. They wear colorful threaded skirts, large hats, beaded materials, and long jackets with bright colors and patterns on them as is common in many of the images of Inca clothing that tourists are presented with. Travelers generally want a picture taken with one of these women and perhaps a baby animal that she brings along because it gives them apparent photo proof that they had a culturally authentic experience in Cusco. Since I spent a couple months in the city, I learned that you generally should pay the sacamefotos 1 sol for each animal or person in the picture. When my mother came to visit Cusco, she did not speak Spanish and looked unsure about how much she should pay, even though I let her know how much it should cost. After her moment of hesitation, the sacamefotos would not accept anything less than 20 soles for a picture that

would normally be worth around 7 soles. These women know how to work their audience with a show of colorful clothes and rich cultural knowledge.

This performance is explained once again by Baud's theory that these public actions done by individuals that outwardly express themselves with authentic looking clothing and animals gives the visitor a feeling of cultural stimulation. The photo in which the traveler is posed with one or more Sacamefotos is "proof" that they have fulfilled their duties of finding an ethnic experience during their travels. The women that participate in such performances do so because they know there is a large market for it. By being aware of the audience they attract they can adapt to a relatively new strategy for economic gain.



My mother posed with several sacamefotos on the side street in Cusco

Regularity and Repetition

The regular repetition of cultural commodification strategies by citizens of Peru and specifically Cusco is what attracts tourists and keeps them as consistent sources of economic profit. The power of the cultural tourism industry in Cusco remains linked to tradition which is in this context the continual representation, spatially and timely, of specific cultural phenomenon. These instances occur on a scale from yearly celebrations to the regular sale of standard items in various locations of the city. The regularity of the events, places and merchandise provides some stability for peruvians in precarious situations and allows Cusco to be like a timeless oasis suitable for tourists to escape into. The data I gathered from participant observation regarding the regular repetition of cultural commodification is grouped into several categories: the repetition of Peru's logo, archaeological sites, Peruvian Holidays (ie The Month of Cusco), and souvenirs. Repetitive marketing strategies are utilized in all of these contexts to have success with tourist sales.

As mentioned in the previous section, Peru's official logo, distinguishable for its swirly indigenous-looking P design, is present on many objects that are sold at tourist markets. I have already mentioned the Peru logo on items like magnets, shot glasses, and other miscellaneous items. The logo is repeated outside of tourist markets as well. Several times when I went to sit on the steps of the large Cathedral in Plaza de Armas, I was handed coupons to restaurants that contained the logo on the small slips of paper. A different day when I was in the plaza there was a local man selling paintings who even wore a shirt with a large Peru logo on it. Another specific instance in which I took note of the use of the symbol was in my hostel room in Aguas Calientes. One of the wall decorations was a gold fact that looked like an Inca artifact was

placed upon traditional textiles and over it all was a gold plaque with the logo on it. The multi-sited placement of the symbol makes an impression on the tourist of a stable, reliable Peruvian identity which makes it such a successful part of the Peruvian marketing campaign.

The repetitive nature of souvenirs in Cusco is clear through the regular products that are for sale in nearly all tourist markets. Some were mentioned before, such as magnets and figurines, but other staple products are sweaters, textiles, stuffed alpacas, mugs and jewelry that incorporates the chakana. I saw all of these items at a temporary market that opened for the Month of Cusco on Avenida de Sol. Images of mothers carrying infants on their backs were very common in souvenirs and art throughout the city. Clothing patterns tend to be repetitively uniform as well, whether as images of indigenous women on magnets that have embroidered skirts of colorful yarn, or the actual clothing for sale like sweaters with specific geometric patterns on them. There was one sweater pattern in particular, with horizontal stripes and purple coloring that was known by many I spoke to as the “gringo sweater” because so many tourists that could be seen walking around Cusco wore it.

Some of the most popular draws for tourists seeking cultural significance out of their trip are the famous archaeological sites in and around the Cusco region. The regular placement of advertisements and repetition of themes further establishes these sites as important places to visit upon arrival in the city. Even before exiting the Cusco airport completely there were signs down the walkways that advertised “hoteles royal inka” with the Peru logo on a banner as well as tours of famous sites such as the ruins of Machu Picchu, the Sacred Valley, the Inka trail, the Inka jungle, Ollytantambo, Puno, Lake Titicaca, Arequipa and colca canyon that tourists can purchase tickets to get transportation and admission into. This was sponsored through Peru

Rail, which is also the company I used to take a train from Ollytamambo (a stop on the Sacred Valley tour due to its large site of Inca ruins) to Aguas Calientes when I went to visit Machu Picchu. My guide called in a tourist train that most locals can't afford to ride, but that there is an even nicer train with glass ceilings that costs much more. The announcements on the train were made in both English and Spanish and I noticed people of many different nationalities riding the train from a broad expanse of countries like Brazil, the US, Australia and Ireland.

There are storefronts throughout the city, as I found out later, that advertised similar tours through many different companies. Travel Ruinas, another travel agency, advertised their tours near the plaza with photos of Puno, Nazca, Machu Picchu, Moray, Chinchero and Sacsayhuaman. Even bags of coca candy, coca being a famous Inca remedy for ailments like altitude sickness, are placed outside of shops facing outward for passersby with pictures of Machu Picchu on their packaging. Another travel agency on Recoleta street is called "Ambres Machupicchu travel tour operator" with a faceout sign in the shape of Machu picchu and the surrounding mountains. Underneath that sign is a smaller one that says "free tourist information". The free tourist information advertisement is commonly used by travel agencies to convince tourists to stop in to be better convinced by the company's offers. The abundance of site representation and association of Inca history with stores and candies further exemplifies the theory that exotized images demonstrate cultural difference. As you walk through the city streets and see images of ruins and the outlines of the Machu Picchu mountains in doorways, it is very apparent that you are no longer in your home country. These images are so specific to the region that it is easy to link the city of Cusco itself entirely with its mystic ruins, as if they was the sole foundation of the nation's cultural bounty.

There are passes that include admission fees to many of the most popular sites in and around Cusco. Saqsayhuaman, for example, is just a 30 minute bus ride up the mountain from downtown Cusco and is a popular tourist destination. Like most of the museums and ruins, you need a special tourist pass to enter. It is possible to purchase different packages that admit you into multiple sites. The most common partial ticket I saw offered 4 sites near Cusco for 70 soles, but is only valid for 1 day. The full ticket includes 16 sites and museums around Cusco and in the sacred valley for 140 soles that is valid for 10 days, but student IDs can be used to lower the price significantly. There are storefronts in the plaza that sell these tourist tickets, though tickets can also be purchased upon entrance to the individual site. However, a separate tourist pass is needed to enter Machu Picchu due to its popularity. Machu Picchu opened to tourists in 1983 when UNESCO declared it as a cultural site. It receives up to 7000 tourists visits a day and during my stay they needed to change the entrance rules to preserve the site appropriately due to the constant overflow of people.

Qoricancha is a famous landmark on Avenida de Sol that was once the central Inca sun temple in Cusco until the Spanish built a Cathedral on top of it after the conquest. The admittance fee is around 15 soles and includes entrance into the ruins and the inner part of the Cathedral, as well as on the outdoor terraces. A separate ticket must be purchased for the underground museum.

Site tickets are a prime example of one of the main beneficiaries of cultural tourism: the nation of Peru itself. By charging admission for archaeological sites the state generates an economic profit. The immense amount of advertisements for these sites that are displayed throughout the city of Cusco and elsewhere draw the interest of travelers. The marketing of

Machu Picchu as a "New Wonder of the World" and as a cultural heritage site determines the influx of tourists to the region. These large sites bring the tourists to Cusco where the live performances and market items that have been discussed add an extra ethnic pull upon arrival which demonstrates how tourism has great economic importance to the nation's economy.

Celebrations are another way to provide a regular staple of Andean culture to the city of Cusco both for the benefit of locals and tourists. Though the Month of Cusco which takes place in June has the purpose of celebrating Cusco's indigenous heritage, it additionally acts as another draw for tourists who can witness cultural dances and parades expressed in a relatively repetitive manner, allowing it to remain memorable. Corpus Christi and Inti Raymi are the most important celebrations in June, and Corpus Cristi comes a week before Inti Raymi. During the week of this celebration there are dances in the plaza which are said to be passed down from the inca and done by different schools and age groups. The dances occur in front of the main cathedral and the dancers migrate around the plaza to dance for a total of three times. At the end of the week a group of dancers is chosen as the best. On the actual day, locals parade through Cusco with statues of saints and bring them into the main cathedral.

Inti Raymi, which occurs on June 24th, originated as a religious ceremony of the inca empire in honor of the god Inti, which means sun in quechua, to celebrate the winter solstice. Since Inti Raymi was on a Saturday, many people in Cusco did not have to work or go to volunteer projects on that Thursday and Friday in order to celebrate. The dances in the plaza continued through this week, and one of the nights there were animations projected onto the main cathedral. People packed into the plaza on Saturday morning. This group consisted of some tourists but mostly Peruvians. The police had to block out spaces for the performers

amidst the crowd. Vendors sold juice and snacks to spectators. Some spectators brought plastic chairs, many stood and as many that could fit sat on the cathedral steps. On the streets there were many more people than usual selling bracelets, purses and other goods marketed to tourists.

A procession of actors began at Qoricancha at 10 in the morning and walked toward the plaza where groups dressed as indigenous peoples danced and an actor dressed as the emperor had the longest display as he was carried through the plaza, and up the mountain to the Sacsayhuaman ruins where a four hour reenactment and choreographed work with hundreds of actors was performed. People followed the procession up the mountains and some seats at the ruins cost 100 USD, but cheaper seating is available for those willing to hike up early.



The procession in the Plaza de Armas during Inti Raymi. The subject of this photo is an actor dressed as the royal Inca.

Corpus Cristi and Inti Raymi celebrate local pride generating from Inca tradition. Therefore, the main audience for which these celebrations are marketed for are not tourists, but andean locals who want to celebrate their nation's history. However, tourists are still expected to come to such an event as is evident by the presence of additional tourist markets during this time of celebration. The participation of a tourist in these events presents them with

the ability to witness local pride and incanismo in action. This demonstrates yet again that Van den Berghe and Ochoa's theory of the utility of incanismo in tourism actually functions in Cusco. The addition of a foreign audience to the local audience during cultural celebrations shows the desire for an "insider perspective".



Conclusion

Evidence from my participant observation in Cusco supports my thesis that the prime strategies of cultural commodification within the city, which reflect national trends, are focused on the authentic representation of items sold and used as well as the repetitive and regular instances that tourists interact with these cultural items. Proposed authenticity, institutionalized by the country of Peru, gives validation to the traveler that the market items, cultural performances, and overall experiences of Cusco are unique and fitting to the true customs of the people in the area. The repetitive presentation of the authentic experiences is brought about both through advertisements and product placement throughout the city which thus establishes familiarity between the tourist and the proposed culture. The tourist is thus initiated into the process of commodifying culture which meets their personal needs of an ethnic experience as well as the needs of the national economy which has a newfound dependence on the tourism industry.

My data regarding the Peru product branding, pottery representation, souvenirs and street performances connects to several theories proposed by Babb in 2012, Ochoa and Van den Berghe in 2000, Baud in 2009, and Robinson and Smith in 2006. It is clear that certain images such as the branding logo and use of pottery are exaggerated to promote the idea that the culture of Cusco is deeply rooted in its indigenous connection which expands the differences between the host culture and that of other countries. Incanismo and the importance the people of Cusco put on their indigenous heritage themselves also influences the perpetuation of cultural tourism. Inca culture beckons to tourists through annual celebrations

such as Inti Raymi and allusions to indigenous symbols embroidered and painted onto souvenirs. When one sees locals celebrating the indigenous history in the plaza it is difficult not to be drawn in and feel connected to that local pride. The performances of Sacamefotos or even individuals dressed like Inca chiefs throughout the city presents the "audience" of foreigners with something that appears to be an authentic ethnic experience. Such a performance as well as the placement of items in the Museo Quechua amongst many other visited areas in Cusco create a staged experience for outsiders to look in on. In this way, local actors and the nation of Peru can choose how to present their culture in order to be most effectively consumed by visitors. All of these make the apparent culture in Cusco more attractive to the tourist seeking a cultural experience.

These strategies are utilized by the nation of Peru for economic benefit which in turn affects the involvement of local actors like street vendors and artisans. They play into the process for economic benefits that can increase their family's lifestyle regarding housing and education, as is often the case with performance based actors like sacamefotos. The locals are aware of the exaggerations they portray in the sale of Inca culture and make choices regarding the product they put out for tourists. However, their involvement is influenced by the lack of other viable options for income now that traditional agricultural lifestyles are not completely economically proficient for indigenous villagers in an increasingly global world. According to Anderson in 2008, cultural tourism's expansion in Peru created more jobs especially involving unskilled labor positions commonly found in hotels and restaurants. However, the poor labor regulations in the country cause the rate of child labor to increase for the purpose of earning individual family income. In addition, local populations such as the indigenous groups

surrounding Cusco receive most of the taxes of the tourism trade while international firms that own tourism organizations take the majority of the profits (Anderson 2008).

Overall, national trends determine the actions of the dependent individual in the working class. When there is pressure from the national government to move toward the cultural tourism industry, local actors must come up with strategies to adapt to the new viable form of income. They learn about their market audience through exposure and adapt their own culture to meet the needs of the foreign culture's expectations. In this way, ideas of culture, no matter how exaggerated and changed they are, are perpetuated to create an idealized narrative that makes a profit both for nuclear families and for the national government. However, the local indigenous communities of Cusco and other indigenous populations in Latin America are left out of the circle of economic profit generated by cultural tourism. The infrastructure of such communities fails to benefit but are still burdened by taxes as a result of the trade. In addition, the spread of ideas inspired by marginalized communities can increase local pride but may simultaneously cause feelings of betraying one's own culture. Perhaps at times the immediate needs of individuals give enough reason to consciously misrepresent a culture, or perhaps it forms increasingly negative experiences for the communities overall. Therefore, further ethnographic studies must be conducted to determine the lasting consequences of cultural tourism on native communities.

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IRB Approval Form



Office of Research Integrity
Institutional Review Board (IRB)
2000 University Avenue
Muncie, IN 47306-0155
Phone: 765-285-5070

DATE: April 18, 2017
TO: Mia Nickelson, BA
FROM: Ball State University IRB
RE: IRB protocol # 1057757-1
TITLE: Cultural Commodification of Indigeneity in Cusco, Peru
SUBMISSION TYPE: New Project
ACTION: APPROVED
DECISION DATE: April 18, 2017
REVIEW TYPE: EXEMPT

The Institutional Review Board reviewed your protocol on April 18, 2017 and has determined the procedures you have proposed are appropriate for exemption under the federal regulations. As such, there will be no further review of your protocol, and you are cleared to proceed with the procedures outlined in your protocol. As an exempt study, there is no requirement for continuing review. Your protocol will remain on file with the IRB as a matter of record.

Exempt Categories:

	Category 1: Research conducted in established or commonly accepted educational settings, involving normal educational practices, such as (i) research on regular and special education instructional strategies, or (ii) research on the effectiveness of or the comparison among instructional techniques, curricula, or classroom management methods.
X	Category 2: Research involving the use of educational test (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures or observation of public behavior
	Category 3: Research involving the use of educational test (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures, or observation of public behavior that is not exempt under category 2, if: (i) the human subjects are elected or appointed officials or candidates for public office; or (ii) Federal statute(s) require(s) without exception that the confidentiality of the personally identifiable information will be maintained throughout the research and thereafter.
	Category 4: Research involving the collection of study of existing data, documents, records, pathological specimens, or diagnostic specimens, if these sources are publicly available or if the information is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that subjects cannot be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects.

	Category 5: Research and demonstration projects which are conducted by or subject to the approval of Department or agency heads, and which are designed to study, evaluate or otherwise examine: (i) public benefit or service programs; (ii) procedures for obtaining benefits or services under those programs; (iii) possible changes in methods or levels of payment for benefits or services under these programs.
	Category 6: Taste and food quality evaluation and consumer acceptance studies, (i) if wholesome foods without additives are consumed or (ii) if a food is consumed which contains a food ingredient at or below the level and for a use found to be safe, by the Food and Drug Administration or approved by the Environmental Protection Agency or the Food Safety and Inspection Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Editorial Notes:

1. N/A

While your project does not require continuing review, it is the responsibility of the P.I. (and, if applicable, faculty supervisor) to inform the IRB if the procedures presented in this protocol are to be modified or if problems related to human research participants arise in connection with this project. **Any procedural modifications must be evaluated by the IRB before being implemented, as some modifications may change the review status of this project.** Please contact (ORI Staff) if you are unsure whether your proposed modification requires review or have any questions. Proposed modifications should be addressed in writing and submitted electronically to the IRB (<http://www.bsu.edu/irb>) for review. Please reference the above IRB protocol number in any communication to the IRB regarding this project.

Reminder: Even though your study is exempt from the relevant federal regulations of the Common Rule (45 CFR 46, subpart A), you and your research team are not exempt from ethical research practices and should therefore employ all protections for your participants and their data which are appropriate to your project.

Bryan Byers, PhD/Chair
Institutional Review Board

Christopher Mangelli, JD, MS, MEd, CIP/Director
Office of Research Integrity